

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1914

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJ: CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION

REF: (A) USNATO 1796 (B) GENEVA 2311

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

SUMMARY: APRIL 7 SPC MEETING OPENED WITH REPORT ON NATO INFORMATION COMMITTEE (CICR) DISCUSSION OF PUBLIC HANDLING OF CSCE ON APRIL 4 (USNATO 1857). NATO PRESS AND PUBLIC INFORMATION STAFFS WILL PREPARE PAPER ON SUBJECT INCLUDING LIST OF QUESTIONS WHICH NATO AND ALLIED SPOKESMEN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS. IN DISCUSSING LATEST SPC DRAFT (REF A), U.S. REP SUGGESTED CHANGES DESIGNED TO REMOVE SOME OF PAPER'S RESIDUAL NEGATIVE CASE. U.S. REP ALSO MADE SUGGESTIONS OUTLINED IN REF A. IS WILL PRODUCE REVISED TEXT FOR SPC CONSIDERATION DURING WEEK OF APRIL 14-18. END SUMMARY.

1. APRIL 7 SPC MEETING ON CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION OPENED WITH RESUME BY NATO PRESS SPOKESMAN (KYD) OF APRIL 4 CICR DELIBERATIONS ON SUBJECT. KYD SAID NATO PRESS AND PUBLICATION INFORMATION STAFFS WERE CURRENTLY PREPARING PAPER TO INCLUDE LIST OF QUESTIONS WHICH NATO AND ALLIED SPOKESMEN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ANSWER.  
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2. CICR HAD ALSO IDENTIFIED THREE MAIN ISSUES WHICH WILL BE AT CENTER OF NATO PRESS AND PUBLIC CONCERN.  
(A) THE NEED TO MAINTAIN ALLIED DEFENSE EFFORTS DESPITE POSSIBLE PUBLIC "EUPHORIA" ONCE CSCE IS CONCLUDED.

(B) SOME MAY BELIEVE THAT, DESPITE WESTERN CLAIMS OF ACHIEVEMENTS IN BASKETS II AND III, THE ALLIES ARE TRADING RATHER NEBULOUS ADVANTAGES IN THESE AREAS AGAINST VERY CONCRETE SOVIET GAINS IN AREAS OF INTEREST TO USSR. THIS WILL REQUIRE STRESS ON IMPLEMENTATION AS THE TRUE TEST OF REAL CSCE RESULTS. IN THIS CONTEXT, PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION MIGHT QUESTION WHY ALLIES ARE GOING TO CSCE SUMMIT WITHOUT CONCRETE RESULTS IN MBFR, ETC.

(C) ADDITIONAL PROBLEM RESIDED IN FACT THAT CONCLUSION OF CSCE WOULD LEAVE NATO SPOKESMAN WITHOUT A MAJOR ON-GOING DETENTE UNDERTAKING AS EXAMPLE OF ALLIANCE DETENTE ROLE.

AS AN ADDITIONAL ISSUE, KYD NOTED THAT SOME ACADEMICIANS MIGHT CHARGE NATO WITH HAVING BEEN MORE IDEOLOGICAL THAN SOVIETS IN CSCE, PROMPTING POSSIBLE CHARGE THAT NATO MEMBERS POSED PRIMARY OBSTRUCTION TO RAPID CSCE CONCLUSION OR THAT ALLIES WERE ATTEMPTING TO DESTABILIZE SITUATION IN EASTERN EUROPE.

3. IN COMMENTING ON ABOVE, NETHERLANDS REP (BUWALDA) REPEATED EARLIER STATEMENT THAT GON NO LONGER FEARED POSSIBLE PUBLIC EUPHORIA OVER CSCE. DUTCH AGREED, HOWEVER, AS THEY ALWAYS HAD, THAT THERE MUST BE PARALLELISM BETWEEN POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETENTE. DUTCH REP, SECONDED BY FRENCH REP (DE LA FERRIERE), NOTED THT PARALLELISM HAD TO BE STATED WITH SOME RESTRAINT SINCE NOT ALL ALLIES WERE PARTICIPANTS IN MBFR. CONCERNING RATIONALE FOR ALLIED PARTICIPATION IN A STAGE III SUMMIT, ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO STRESS THEIR EXPECTATION THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE WILL JUSTIFY THEIR PARTICIPATION IN STAGE III AT HIGHEST LEVEL. NETHERLANDS REP SAID IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO SHOW THAT DETENTE, WAS A CONTINUING NATO ACTIVITY GIVEN ON-GOING NEGOTIATIONS IN MBFR, SALT AND IN BILATERAL EAST-WEST CONTEXT. SIMILARLY, CLAIMS OF ALLIED OVEREMPHASIS ON IDEOLOGY COULD BE COUNTERED WITH ORIGINAL WESTERN RATIONALE FOR PARTICIPATION IN CSCE TO EFFECT THAT CHANGES IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER AREAS WERE REQUIRED TO CREATE CONFIDENTIAL

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CREDIBLE EUROPEAN DETENTE.

4. IN RESPONDING TO NETHERLANDS REP'S REMARKS, WHICH FRENCH REP AND CANADIAN REP (BARTLEMAN) JOINED, KYD AGREED THAT CSCE SUMMIT MAY NOT MAKE A FUNDAMENTAL, LONG-TERM IMPACT ON A PUBLIC MORE INTERESTED IN OTHER WORLD DEVELOPMENTS. NATO AND ALLIED SPOKESMEN WILL, HOWEVER, HAVE TO COUNTER SOVIET CLAIMS OF "VICTORY" IN CSCE; AND THE PUBLIC -- WITH ITS APPETITE FOR INNOVATION-- WILL EXPECT NATO TO HAVE SOMETHING NEW TO TALK ABOUT IN THE DETENTE AREA AFTER CSCE IS CONCLUDED.

5. AT OUTSET FOR DISCUSSION ON CURRENT IS DRAFT (REF A,) U.S. REP (COLLINS) DREW ON GENEVA 2311 IN SUGGESTING THAT PAPER MIGHT BEGIN WITH A MORE POSITIVE STATEMENT OF WESTERN

VIEWS OF CSCE. U.S. REP ACCORDINGLY SUGGESTED FIRST PARAGRAPH ALONG LINES PARA 2, GENEVA 1898. U.S. REP ALSO SUGGESTED OTHER MODIFICATIONS TO ACCOMMODATE ABOVE CHANGE AS WELL AS SEPARATE TREATMENT OF THOUGHTS IN PRESENT PARA 2, REF A. ALSO PER REF A, U.S. REP SUGGESTED LISTING, EITHER IN ANNEX OR IN MAIN BODY OF PAPER, SPECIFIC WESTERN CSCE ACHIEVEMENTS SUCH AS THOSE OUTLINED IN PARA 3-G, GENEVA 1898. FRG REP (BOSS) AGREED WITH U.S. SUGGESTION THAT SECOND PARA OF CURRENT DRAFT MIGHT BE SPLIT TO ACCENTUATE TWO IMPORTANT POINTS CONTAINED THEREIN.

6. ON PARA 4(I), BOSS SAID ALLIES SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO GUARANTEE THAT THE WARSAW PACT TAKES FUTURE STEPS TO BRING ABOUT MILITARY DETENTE. SIMILARLY, PARA 4 (III) MIGHT BE CHANGED TO AVOID FALSE AND PROVOCATIVE IMPRESSION THT ALLIES WERE TRYING TO CHANGE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO.

7. UK REP (SINTON) ARGUED FOR REMOVAL OF PHRASE " ... WHICH IS STILL ONLY AT ITS BEGINNING" FROM LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 3 SINCE THIS DID NOT PROPERLY REFLECT CURRENT STATUS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. RE PARA 4 (V), UK BELIEVED POINT ON FACT THT ALL CSCE RESULTS MUST BE EQUALLY IMPLEMENTED WOULD BE BETTER MADE BY DELETING SPECIFIC REF TO CBMS AND PRINCIPLES.

8. DANISH REP (VILLADSEN) AGREED BOTH WITH U.S. THAT PAPER CONFIDENTIAL

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SHOULD OPEN ON MORE POSITIVE NOTE AS WELL AS WITH GERMAN AND UK COMMENTS ON PARA 4.

9. TURKISH REP (GUR) SUGGESTED THAT PAPER CONTINUE TO STRESS NEED FOR WESTERN DEFENSE EFFORT EVEN THOUGH RISK OF EUPHORIA MIGHT SEEM REDUCED. PAPER SHOULD ALSO AVOID SUGGESTION THAT CSCE WILL LIMIT MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN ANY CONCRETE WAY.

10. A DISCUSSION ENSUED -- WITH ITALIANS, CANADIANS, BELGIANS AND FRENCH AS PRINCIPAL PARTICIPANTS -- ON WHEN AND HOW GENEVA DELEGATIONS SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN SPC EFFORT. CANADIAN THOUGHT THIS COULD BEST BE ACHIEVED WHEN CHIEFS OF CSCE DELEGATIONS NEXT MET IN BRUSSELS. SPC AGREED TO DEFER DECISION ON THIS MATTER UNTIL CSCE/PR PAPER WAS CLOSER TO FINAL FORM.

11. IN CONCLUDING SUMMARY, SPC CHAIRMAN (MOON) SAID IS WOULD UNDERTAKE ANOTHER DRAFT ON BASIS OF SPC DISCUSSION. DRAFT WOULD BE CIRCULATED DURING PRESENT WEEK FOR DISCUSSION EARLY IN WEEK OF APRIL 14-18. BRUCE

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